1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

291 ●
342
361
415
516

PLATE I

CHIRICAHUA CAMP

United States National Museum

[Frontispiece]
[Facing Title Page - p. v]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

the child has his earliest and most meaningful contacts. In his own household live his parents and his brothers and sisters. Only adoption or exceptional circumstances bring others into the home. Within easy reach are the maternal grandparents, the mother's sisters and their husbands and children, and the mother's unmarried brothers.

The child is not entirely cut off from other contacts. The extended family from which his father has come may be located in the same vicinity. Then the paternal relatives will see him often and show great affection for him.

Kinship is reckoned bilaterally. There are no special modes of address or obligations owed to maternal relatives which are withheld from paternal relatives. That the mother's kin figure so prominently is a mechanical reaction to the rule of residence and the scattered and isolated state of the extended families rather than to any theories concerning the closeness or remoteness of particular lines of kin.

The adult men the child sees are dressed in long-sleeved buckskin shirts, with rounded neck opening and with fringe at the shoulders and at the lower ends of the sleeves. They also wear broad loincloths of the same material which fall to a point just above the knees in front and hang in back "just high enough so they won't be stepped on." For footgear they have knee-high moccasins with uppers turned down in folds. These folds are convenient places in which to carry knives or small objects. Often an upward-curving, disk-shaped piece about an inch and a half in diameter projects beyond the toe. This is really a portion of the rawhide sole which has been pounded, moistened, and sewed into position at either side. When it dries, it stays fixed. This projection is found most often on moccasins made for special or dress occasions. "The upturned toe is for decoration only; it's of no special use. In fact, a person sometimes trips on it."

The high boot is the characteristic type, but, when buckskin is scarce, low-cut moccasins suffice. Sometimes high moccasins are worn in cold weather and low ones in summer. Among the members of the Eastern Chiricahua band, but not the Southern and Central Chiricahua, the low-cut moccasins are used almost as frequently as the others.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

as frequently as the others. In the two bands which favor the high moccasin, the possession of a pair of this type is a point of prestige: "The moccasin is worn high when you are able to have this kind. All people of influence had them this way." The seam line at the foot, especially on "dress" moccasins, is often painted red, the upturned portion of the toe may be variously painted, too, and sometimes the folded portion of the upper or the entire moccasin is colored with yellow ocher.

When the man is out hunting, raiding, or fighting, he wears a belt of buckskin or rawhide to which a knife sheath is attached, but in times of peace he seldom takes the trouble to don this when he is around camp.

After the spring ceremony the hair is allowed to grow. "We all wear long hair. A person doesn't dare cut his hair off with a knife. He has to take good care of his hair. To cut it brings bad luck. The only time you do that is when a member of your family has died." A man leaves his hair unbraided. He pushes it to the sides, out of his eyes and over his shoulders, and it is held in place by a band which crosses his forehead.

Yucca root, pounded, is used for shampooing the hair. "After washing the hair, they use fat on it to make it stick together. Also marrow from the shinbone of a deer is used for this purpose."

The faces of the men are smooth; all facial hair is plucked with the fingernails as soon as it is noticed, because "the Chiricahua don't like whiskers." There are exceptions, of course. "There is one man who has let his beard grow for good luck. He told me that when he was young he had a dream that he would have good luck if he let his beard grow. He is over sixty years old now and still has a moustache."

At times of dance and celebration a mixture of grease and red ocher is rubbed on the cheeks, and there are other face paints. "Paint is used for decoration when there is any gathering or dance. It can be put on at any time. Sometimes a person puts circles on each cheek; sometimes some other markings. A few put a streak of sticky mescal juice on each side of the face."

In addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

In addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of painting for ritual reasons. The coloring of the patient's face by the shaman (often with sacred substances such as pollen, specular iron ore, or white clay) is one of the important elements of the ceremonial pattern. Thus the child becomes used to seeing individuals whose faces are marked with lines of white clay or whose cheeks are decorated with symbols of the sun, moon, stars, or various constellations.

The men tattoo themselves but limit the area to the inner part of the arms "because there is more flesh there and it is more tender." The colors used are red and blue-black. The red is obtained from red ocher or the juice of ripe prickly pears; the black, from charcoal. The material is laid on the skin, moistened, and punched in with a cactus thorn. Typical designs are stars, constellations, and zigzag lines symbolizing lightning. Sometimes these relate to the shamanistic rites of the individual. For instance, one man who claims power from lightning has tattooed markings representative of his tutelary. But most tattooing is merely decorative. In time the designs lose their sharpness and after many years can scarcely be distinguished.

The men have earrings, necklaces, bracelets, bandoleers, and pendants. Turquoise and white shell beads are worn. "The 'ancient people' [prehistoric Pueblo inhabitants] gave us the turquoise. These people were careless with the stones, and the Chiricahua pick them up." Beads are also made from the segments of a long root (*Hilaria cenchroides*?) and from the seeds of the mountain laurel. Many of these ornaments are primarily of religious and protective value.

Abalone shell, too, is used in ritual contexts and is frequently worn. "People cut out a piece, drill a hole through it, and wear it. Often they are directed to do this by a shaman after he has cured them. The shaman himself might give the abalone to the patient. A piece of it is often fastened right to the hair."

A sachet of mint may be worn, particularly by young men who wish to make themselves attractive to the girls.

The woman wears a two-piece dress of buckskin—an upper garment and a medium-length skirt. High-topped moccasins

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

291 (women never wear the low-cut type) complete the costume. These moccasins often have the upturned toe.

302 Young women, and many middle-aged women too, part the hair, draw it together at the back, wrap it up in a knot at the nape, tie it, and cover it with an hour-glass-shaped hide form. Older women tend to wear their hair hanging loosely; "but, if it is in their way, they fix it up too." As a woman advances in age, she devotes less attention to hair-grooming, though there is great individual variation in the time at which these changes take place. Though some rather young women have the hair loose, a really old woman is never seen wearing the hair form.

Face-painting of women follows the conventions noted for men. Women tattoo also. In addition to tattoo markings on the 304 [531] [178] arms, they place a dot on either cheek and often a figure, such as a circle or a wavy or serrated line, on the forehead. One informant insisted that the facial tattooing of the women is an innovation.

301 789 Women, like men, make lavish use of pendants and ornaments of stone, shell, and other materials; and many of these objects, too, are really amulets.

291 855 [857] [515] Very young children, particularly when the weather is mild, are burdened with little or no clothing. They play around the camps happy and unkempt. "It seems as though washing their hands and washing themselves is foreign to them." When clothes are made for them, the garments are modeled after those worn by adults. Sometimes a child's hair is gathered at the sides and 302 855 'tied in two bundles." But most often, until the girl assumes the hair form and the boy the headband, the hair is left to hang 824 175 loosely. For protection from the sun, both young people and adults wear wreaths of fresh willow.

342 [462] [824] [412] [283] The home in which the family lives is made by the women and is ordinarily a circular, dome-shaped brush dwelling, with the floor at ground level. It is seven feet high at the center and approximately eight feet in diameter. To build it, long fresh poles of oak or willow are driven into the ground or placed in holes made with a digging-stick. These poles, which form the framework, are arranged at one-foot intervals and are bound together

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

told some of the boys that he was going to give another ceremony for a patient on another night, this time for ghost sickness, and that they might attend if they would promise not to scratch themselves.

As a result of such experiences the child learns to anticipate the curative function of ceremonies, the claims of shamans, their pattern of prayers, songs, and manipulation of sacred objects. He becomes sensible of the close rapport between the shaman and the power source, of the mingled flattery, pleading, and threats which mark the attempts to force the supernatural world to respond to the needs of man. He becomes aware of the sources of disease—snakes, bears, coyotes, ghosts, witches; of the implicit homeopathic feeling that snake sickness, for instance, requires the services of a snake shaman. He gets some hint, also, of the multiple ceremonies which such a shaman as Geronimo possesses, and he learns of the restrictions associated with ritual.

The beliefs and ceremonial usages associated with the related concepts of death, the ghost, and the owl are very early transmitted to the child by older relatives. "When I was little I never gave any thought to death. But once I got very sick. My mother thought I was going to die. She told me that I could not come back if I died. That was my first scare. Since then I have been afraid of death."

Often a child's awareness of death begins at the demise of some relative. Then his name may be changed because the dead person had spoken it so frequently that its use would recall the deceased to mind. Or his hair may be cut and his appearance thus altered. At the time of a close relative's burial, a child's clothing is discarded and replaced, for nothing must be left as it was before death. Efforts are now intensified to protect the child from supernatural harm; ashes are strewn upon him and around his bed to discourage the approach of ghosts, and he is thoroughly incensed with smoke from burning sage, called "ghost medicine."

Whether or not the child is curious about the meanings of death practices, they must be explained to him, for it is socially dangerous to permit individuals, however young, to remain in ignorance of them:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua
[facing p. 122]

881
.535
.216
291

PLATE VIII

THE ROUND DANCE (THE CEREMONIAL STRUCTURE IN THE BACKGROUND)

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF ADULTS

RELATIONS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

832
152
183 AN IMPORTANT element in the character of courtship and in the nature of premarital relations is a generalized negative set toward the easy display of emotion. The kiss, for instance, is considered too personal and expressive a gesture for adult or public use.

593
152
183 The mother and father kiss the children when they are playing with them and have them on their laps. But those who are grown up a little wouldn't kiss in anyone else's presence. When Chiricahua have not seen each other for a long time, they embrace. If you love someone, you embrace him and you say, "I'm glad to see you again." The women do the same thing, but they love one another so much they often sit down and cry. Maybe the last time they met one had a brother who is now dead, or something like that. A man might embrace his wife when he comes back from a long journey.

834
514
183 There is a feeling of inhibition in regard to intimate matters even between members of the same sex:

A grown person does not like to defecate or urinate before anyone else. If two men or two women are together, one will say, "I am going out." But if polite form of speech is used between these two, nothing will be said. The person just leaves. And a man would not make any explanation to a woman either.

834
291
183 Women do not want to be seen naked by other women any more than do men by men. Adults are reserved in these matters before one another. . . . . When a boy grew to manhood, he would not swim naked any more, not even before other men. The Chiricahua is very much ashamed about this. A grown man considers it a disgrace if another adult sees his privates. When a grown man goes in swimming, he always wears a loincloth or something. I have seen older men in swimming, but never naked.

834
183 Great dignity should be observed in speech:

[521] I don't know the names of all the parts of a woman's genitals. Men don't usually talk about a woman's parts. If I talk like this, someone will say, "You're no man at all!" When X. [an aberrant in respect to sexually pointed speech whose case is considered below] talks, I don't know whether he means something on top or way in.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

dreams of the dead and of their return.[1] But from other sources this omission (owing perhaps to fear of dwelling upon such a dangerous topic) is repaired. "If you see a dead person in your sleep, you're not going to last long," said one informant. So feared are such dreams that special precautions are often taken to prevent them: "Clothing, especially moccasins and hats, should not be put above or under the pillow or about the head of the bed at night, for this causes dreams about ghosts."

The importance attached to dreams other than these varies from individual to individual:

> Some people are very much guided by dreams. Some people are recognized as very true dreamers. But I have just ordinary dreams. All my dreams are about raids: I am always running away from Mexicans. I also dream a great deal about dances. I am always in there dancing. I recognize a Mescalero woman in there, and I am always dancing with her. Sometimes I am standing there and I wonder, "Why doesn't someone dance with me?"
>
> My dreams run on the order of war. Long ago the government had Western Apache scouts to track down the Chiricahua. I dream that they are making a raid on my people. I am trying to get away from them. I climb into a tree, and then I always wake up.

Still another commentator disclaimed any reliance on dreams for himself. "I can dream plenty of things, some good and some bad, and I don't pay any attention to them." But this same man admitted that the dream could act as a vision experience and guardian spirit for others, whom he called dream shamans, saying:

> We must be dream shamans, like P., to know what these dreams mean. Only the one who knows, who gets a vision with it, is all right. You can get more of this from P. He's an old man. He's about the oldest man here. He believes his dreams are true. When he dreams about the peccary, it means something bad. When he dreams about deer, it means something good.[2]

[1] There are two kinds of "death dreams." To dream of the death of living persons is made psychologically acceptable by interpreting it to mean the opposite. But dreams of the return or the sight of the dead are among the most harrowing of experiences.

[2] It is interesting that the good omen, deer, an animal much sought by the hunter, should be contrasted with the peccary, an animal that most Chiricahua will not taste.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

751 757 515 [291] [824] [413] time. About four to six men usually go in at once. They wear just a loincloth. Before they go in, pounded piñon needles or pounded juniper may be rubbed on their bodies by the man in charge. All the men wear sage tied around their heads while they are in there. And they take a drink in which four pieces of mesquite bean have been put. Each man has to bring a stick to scratch with. He cannot scratch his body with his fingers.

Four big rocks are heated outside and then brought to the pit inside with a forked stick. Water is brought. The men are sitting in a circle but leave an open space to the east. Then the water is sprinkled on the hot rocks. Anyone who is appointed can sprinkle water on. One man sits outside and operates the door cover so that the heat does not escape. The man in charge is always in there. He [463] prays in there and leads the singing. Special songs are sung, songs that mention [782] the sweat bath, the earth, and the sky. Usually four songs are sung over and [533] over. All who are inside sing.

The men try to stay in there about an hour. Then they come out and bathe. [481] Some young fellows run a race, too, while they are still warm from the sweat [826] bath, to enable them to become good runners and to make them long winded. That is their belief.

Sometimes the men go in four times during the day. But some can't stand it. K. went in once. The heat was so great that he didn't go in a second time. Sometimes they just go in once and it's over. They rub themselves well with their hands when they come out. Sweat-bathing like this keeps men in good physical condition. It isn't done right away again. They would wait at least fifteen days [888] before doing it again. There is no use for very old people to go into the sweat house. Their lives are spent.

278 *Herbalism.*—Plants are used in the majority of cases, whether the manner of combating the illness be ceremonial or purely secular. "There are all kinds of roots and weeds and herbs, something for everything; nothing was left out." Some plants are considered so "strong" and so "ceremonial" that only those who have supernatural sanction and directions for their use dare apply them. Other plants, usually administered in nonritual contexts, appear in ceremonies if the supernatural power so orders.

751 824 Incensing with the smoke of burning juniper and piñon boughs is mentioned repeatedly:

My people take piñon and juniper, put the boughs together, and burn them. They do it inside the home and keep the members of the family there until they can't stand it any longer. This burning makes a lot of smoke, and they stay there until the tears come from their eyes. Then they won't catch a disease that is around. They do this if there is a great deal of disease around.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

754
156
159

A witch can be told by his language. If he makes a threat against another and it comes true, he may be suspected of being a witch. People who steal or habitually do mean things are witches.

Or his habits may be strange and may put him under suspicion. If you see a man on a high hill going through a strange ceremony, you can be sure he is a witch. A shaman would not go way out in the mountains and dance naked, as I have heard has been done. A shaman would perform his ceremony in the open and at home. Witches always go far out and do strange things. [756]

There are people who are queer. They are seen doing things that are not right in this life, as if I should get out here and pray to the sun when I shouldn't. It would look bad. Or if a man is seen carrying bones of animals and trying to hide them; it is things like that which cause a person to be suspected of being a witch.

Not long ago my wife got up very early to make a fire. It was before anyone else was up. There, by the little road which runs past our camp, she saw a man waving a handkerchief to the four directions. This was after this man's wife died. My wife asked me what I thought of this. I said I thought it was sorcery. It was a queer thing for a man to do.

Even if you are not a witch but do something peculiar, you will fall under suspicion. For instance, one day I was whistling and doing some steps of the masked dancer just for the amusement of my wife and child. My wife said, "You had better stop. Someone may see you and think you are a witch." I was not dressed properly for the dance, and there was no music. It would have looked bad if someone had seen me. The Chiricahua has to be very careful. When a person is accused of being a witch, there is always some reason for it in his actions.

. . . . In one case I heard of, a woman who took all her clothes off somewhere around here and ran up a hill with her buttocks toward the camps was known as a witch. Once a man was seen entirely naked handling his sexual organ and saying some prayer. This is peculiar, and the man fell under suspicion. He was suspected of going through a ceremony to give someone venereal disease.

The possession of unusual amulets may also give rise to gossip: 754 [301]

They may have some beads or an arrowhead or something hidden under their clothes. Sometimes someone sees this. Then people are suspicious. Some may wear a little buckskin around the wrist or perhaps some little bones, or something like that, or maybe they have some hair. Some wear what they use openly and don't care if they are called witches.

The manner of dress may reveal the witch. "We were warned when I was a boy that witches never wear good clothes. That's [291]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

754 one way of finding them out. . . . . They say that a man is sure-
• [291] ly a witch if he is rich and yet doesn't wear clean clothes."

[147] Though one informant asserted that "witches have a peculiar odor, something like the odor of spoiled meat; if you smell it, it may have a bad influence on you," others rejected this idea.
[262] Sensitivity to elk meat provides a test: "If you are a witch and eat elk, you throw up. Elk meat stays down in a good man."

It is not unusual for a trap to be laid for the sorcerer:

[273] There was a fellow who was considered a witch. You know that tiswin or beer that the Indians make out of corn. One shaman had a root which, if given to a witch in this tiswin or in coffee, would kill him. It wouldn't do harm to any other person. A man told me about this incident who was present when it happened. It was thought that the man to whom this was done was a witch, because shamans had often pointed to him as the man who caused sickness. So this shaman told several people privately that he was going to give the root to the witch in tiswin this time. He told the other people to go ahead and drink the tiswin, for it wouldn't harm them. When the witch came over, some of this root was put in his tiswin. The witch went home and soon had stomach trouble. He died in a few days. Other people drank the same tiswin and were all right.

754 The victim's guardian spirit may furnish information about
787 the attacks of the witch:

My children and my wife all died over at the hospital. They died because the doctor can't help them in matters of witchcraft. I could tell by my dream that my wife was witched. In my dream I heard a voice that told me. Sometimes the witch appeared to me in my dream. But I could not stop it. I know who the witches who killed my wife and children were. They are dead now. In my dream I saw that some witches just talk, just go through a ceremony of words, and influence the people that way. Since that time I have not cared much about dreams; I did not care to be notified any more.

75 Very often none of the devices enumerated serves to ferret out
578 the evildoer. "A man might be living with a witch and not know it; it might be his wife." The witch who so skilfully masks his identity is exposed only when a ceremony over a sick person is held by a shaman powerful enough to learn the true cause. Accordingly, the most spectacular curing rites are those which constitute a battle, not against natural indispositions nor yet against the evil influence of dangerous animals and forces, but against the sorcerer.

The word "battle" is chosen advisedly. The entire contest be-

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

727 [431] them there. He tells the women to help themselves. Sometimes he kills a cow or a horse for them. This is done mostly for women who have no men to take care of them. Sometimes the man will just throw out things to the people.

WAR FOR VENGEANCE

721 726 535 *The war dance.*—Despite the identical designs on the enemy's goods, the war party differs from the raiding expedition in preliminaries, personnel, and tenor:

> Only when they go out for revenge and fighting do they have the dancing beforehand. A relative who wishes a revenge party goes to the leaders and head men and asks them to use their influence to get one up. A large group would go, usually on foot. . . . .
>
> All big war parties are undertaken to avenge deaths. The relatives of the father of the dead person or of his wife will get it started and try to enlist as many as possible. If they are important people, it will be a big party. . . . . As many as volunteered would go. Relatives of the dead man would agitate for the party, and if there was a leader among them, he would be in charge of it.

726 535 The war dance is a dramatization of warfare itself and a pledge on the part of the individual warrior to participate in the action and to acquit himself bravely:

> All the leading men notified the others that they were going to have a war dance that night and that they were going after the enemy the next day. "Fierce dancing" is what they called this.
>
> All the Indians gathered that night. They didn't tell men that they must go. They don't say, "You must go, and you and you." These Chiricahua feel as men on their own. If things like war are going to happen, they themselves have to show they are manly. It is left up to the individual to decide.
>
> [534] They brought a hide. They had a drum there, a pot covered with buckskin. They went through the thing that has been handed down in tradition from the original time. They know how to go through the performance; it doesn't have to be told. Those who were going to dance put their moccasins on and made themselves just like fighting men in war. [302] They had long hair, so they tied it in place with a headband. Some who had long hair that came down the back tied it back there in the middle so it wouldn't get in the way. [291] The Chiricahua man wears a long and wide loincloth which comes down in front to a place just above the knee and further down in back, near to the ankle. For this dance they brought the back flap through the legs and the front one around too and tucked them into the belt. They don't have to do it if the ends are not in the way, but they want to make themselves as "free" as possible.
>
> What I saw was this. The upper parts of their legs were naked. The shirts of those who wore them flopped around. Some wore cartridge belts as bandoleers. Some carried guns.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

726 202 177 We used a mirror. Quivering a beam toward strangers and then casting out a long beam from you means, "Who are you?" The others reply, "A friend," by directing the beam toward themselves and then in a circle toward you. Flashing downward with the beam means, "Come." Flashing to the right means, "Go right," to the left means, "Go left."

726 821 One of the chief benefits of star lore, apparently, is to help raiders or warriors find their way about:

I can't tell you much about the stars. I never paid much attention to it. But you take a man like L.: he's been out at war many times. He has had to go by the stars. He knows all about them and what direction they are moving in.

726 805 211 Timekeeping devices are important to the warriors and to those awaiting their return:

Suppose you had promised someone to be somewhere in a certain number of days. You'd have to start at the right time to get there. So every morning you would throw a stone in a certain place and keep count of them. In this way you would know when to start. Or you might do it with marks on a stick. I have heard of doing it with beads on a string too. A few, maybe one or two out of the whole tribe, kept time by beads.

726 271 When a war or raiding party scatters, some individuals may lose their way, and they are likely to suffer from lack of water. Certain aids are therefore taught to everyone:

We are taught, when thirsty and without water, to put a dry stick or stone in the mouth. I have done it lots of times. It starts the saliva and helps you. We melt snow for water when we find some in the mountains. Different kinds of [824] cactus are used when we are in the flats. We chew the inner parts of the cactus for thirst. No matter how hot the weather is, that is always cool. Barrel cactus saved many people too. To get the water you knock the top off. There is water in there; it's like a watermelon. To get the water, you have to squeeze the pulp. And we get rain water from mescal. This plant holds water [in the basal leaves]. The animals get water from these. The deer and horses drink from them. In the south the big ones grow. To drink, the man uses a reed or something hollow if he has it and sucks it out.

726 291 [824] In emergencies, improvised footgear must sometimes be made. "When the Chiricahua were caught out on the raid or at war and their moccasins gave out, they took grass and tied it to their feet with two or three strips of yucca."

726 157 The warrior has little respect for a senseless sacrifice of life, but when he is brought to bay he is capable of furious resistance:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

[Facing P. 381]

PLATE XII

291

285
531

United States National Museum

a) MOCCASINS

United States National Museum

b) BURDEN BASKET

285

Courtesy of Colorado Museum, Thomas Wilcox, photographer

c) WATER JARS

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(Ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua
[facing p. 410]

PLATE XV

142
301
302
291
684

Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fe

WOMAN WITH MUTILATED NOSE

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua
[facing p. 448]

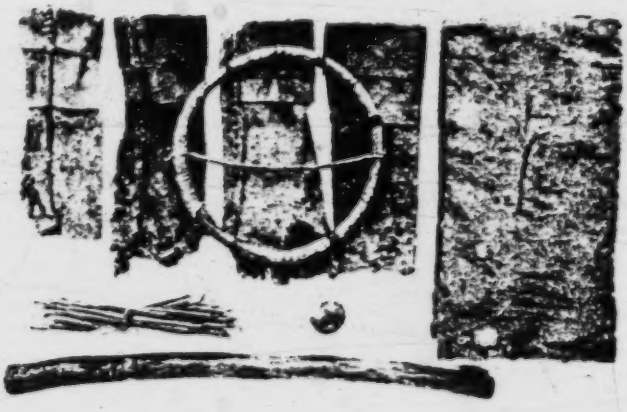
PLATE XVI

526
291

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

a) MEN PLAYING HOOP-AND-POLE GAME

526
524



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

b) HOOP OF HOOP-AND-POLE GAME; "MOCCASINS," BLANKET, BONE, STRIKING STICK, AND COUNTERS OF MOCCASIN GAME

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

619
62
101

From the point of view of the native the band was more important than the tribe. This is reflected in nomenclature. Neither the Chiricahua nor Mescalero have true native tribal names, but the bands are named. This undoubtedly derives from the fact that in aboriginal times, due to the scattered condition of the tribe and the large area which it controlled, an Apache's meaningful contacts were likely to be limited to members of his band. There were few occasions when tribal unity could be affirmed by a gathering of all tribesmen.

184

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA

Besides the linguistic differences between the Mescalero and Chiricahua, and the relatively minor tribal distinctions in songs, rites, myths, and folk beliefs which might be expected, the most noticeable tribal variations existed in the realm of material culture. The Mescalero made trips to the [224] plains to hunt buffalo, and were to some degree dependent upon this animal for meat, skins, and sinew. The Chiricahua were too far west to benefit to any great extent by the presence of buffalo on the plains. When living or hunting [342] on the plains the Mescalero made use of the skin-covered [492] tipi and transported the poles for it by horse in the form of a travois. But only the Warm Springs, the most eastern band of the Chiricahua, made any use of the tipi or travois, and [415] then infrequently. The Mescalero shaped rawhide par- [531] fleches and painted them with Plains-like geometric designs. The parfleches of the Chiricahua were undecorated.

291
184

An orientation towards the Plains can be discerned in Mescalero dress and hairdress, too. The typical costume of [177] the Mescalero man was buckskin shirt, loin-cloth, leggings, [302] and hard-soled, low-cut moccasins. His hair was braided and wrapped. The Chiricahua man presented a markedly different appearance. He wore no leggings, his moccasins came high on his legs and showed a curious, disc-shaped, [302] upward projection at the toe. His hair hung loosely or was kept in place by a headband only.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

Not uncommonly the Mescalero women, too, wore leggings and braided (but did not wrap) her hair. The Chiricahua woman wore no leggings. Her hair was gathered at the back of the head, tied there, and covered with a decorated form of hour-glass shape. The Mescalero plucked the eyebrows, a practice which the Chiricahua never followed. 184 302 [291]

The tendency of the Mescalero to draw inspiration from the Plains is observable in many other aspects of the culture, particularly in the war complex. The round, rawhide shield was of more frequent occurrence among the Mescalero than among the Chiricahua. The Mescalero always made a designed buckskin cover for the shield, whereas the Chiricahua shield lacked a buckskin cover more often than not, the decoration being painted directly upon the rawhide. The trailing feather headdress is associated with Mescalero war practices but it is not to be found for the Chiricahua. The same differentiation may be observed for scalping. While the Mescalero warrior was by no means as interested in scalping as his Plains counterpart, he had distinctly more feeling for the practice than did the Chiricahua. Upon the return of a successful war party, it was an integral part of the celebration for the Mescalero fighters to relate the character of their exploits and for their fellow warriors to bear witness to their bravery and veracity. This usage was unknown to Chiricahua warfare. 177 184 714 177 184 727

It seems patent that the essential divergences between Chiricahua and Mescalero cultures can be defined in terms of the eastern position of the latter which made possible contact and association with the buffalo-hunting tribes of the southern plains. Even in matters ceremonial this criterion proves sound. The sole major variation between Mescalero and Chiricahua ritual life is that the Mescalero carried on peyote ceremonies and the Chiricahua did not. Since the greatest development of the peyote cults occurred among the Plains tribes and their immediate neighbors, this tribal difference can likewise be laid to geographical position. 177 184 177 184 796 276

3:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1946
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

121 754 128 plasticity of supernatural power, namely, that power may be used for good or evil depending on the character and design of the shaman. Moreover, they suggest that, according to the Chiricahua view, evil may arise either from the malevolence of man or from the advantages which evil power offers man if he will agree to be the instrument of the forces of malice. But it is plain throughout that sorcery can operate only through man and that consequently evil cannot flourish as long as humankind resists it courageously.

The last episode is included, despite its modern elements, because it is a good example of what takes place when new symbols are substituted for old without a change in the basic thought and attitude pattern. [178]

754 787 539 1. *The Power of Sorcery Is Offered to a Chiricahua*

A friend told me he had a chance to be a witch. This was at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.[1] He was sleeping in his house alone at night. There was a window right by him. It was dark. He heard somebody get in and walk around every night. He'd lock up carefully, but he'd hear the window and door rattle and someone get in.

This thing appeared to him inside the house one night. An old woman and an old man came in naked and stood by his bed.[2] They were no persons he knew, just spirits. He was talking to them. While they were talking, a young boy and girl came in entirely naked and stood before him. And they told him, "We came over here to give you power to be a witch."

He says he talked to them. He said, "How am I going to be a witch?"

He told me later, "My friend, it's no wonder that when you suspect a witch you can't find out about him. It's right in here in the middle of the tongue. They told me to stick my tongue

[648] [295] [577] [291] [835]

[1] This story dates back to the time when the Chiricahua were held as prisoners of war at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, after being removed from their territory in the Southwest.

[2] Shamelessness, nakedness, and incest are associated with sorcery on the grounds that only witches would be guilty of such excesses.